

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

Policy and Peace

IT is important to realize that if the national reverses of the last few weeks had happened a year ago, the Government would certainly have fallen and the reverses been ascribed to the fatal lethargy of Mr. Chamberlain and "the men of Munich." But, as things are today, the Government cannot fall, and there are no "men of Munich" to make convenient scapegoats for military deficiencies which are inherent in the nature of Democracy.

We have said it before, and we say it again. You cannot have it both ways. You cannot keep your Democracy, and achieve the military efficiency of a totalitarian war-machine. By attempting this impossibility, you create a mere hybrid. You are indeed in danger, in trying to get the best of both worlds, of getting the worst of both.

A political democracy without an organized opposition, whose duty it is to oppose, is a makeshift affair. Yet an organized opposition is impossible without an alternative policy. Since nobody knows what the Government policy is, it is impossible to formulate a clear alternative. Mr. Churchill has said that everybody knows what the policy of the Government is. It is to beat Hitler. That goes down; or at least it did go down. At present it tends to stick half-way. As, of course, it always should have done. For "to beat Hitler" is not a policy. It is an excuse for not having one.

Not that we believe that any policy likely to be formulated by the Government, or any policy likely to be formulated in opposition to that policy, would bring the war-weary world much comfort. Something completely revolutionary, like the latest proposals of Mr. Clarence Streit, might indeed break the mental and spiritual deadlock in which we are caught. Mr. Streit proposes an immediate federation of the United States and the British Empire, to be accompanied by an offer of peace. That, at least, is imaginative and bold and in the true sense realistic. It takes account of the real situation of Britain and the British Empire in the new constellation of world-forces. But precisely because it is bold and imaginative and realistic it is unlikely to command any effective support among politicians. It calls for great sacrifices: from the USA a permanent sacrifice of its isolationism, from Britain a permanent sacrifice of its status. Almost certainly, both nations would prefer to live in their dream.

One day they will be awakened out of it. For Britain the awakening will be grim. When the notion that we are condemned henceforward to play a relatively subsidiary role in world-politics really begins to penetrate the British intelligence, odd things will begin to happen. People may even begin to ask why, if we found no difficulty in offering France federation when she was in extremis, we should not have had the commonsense, when we ourselves are in much the same position, to seek federation with the one nation which offered to save us.

France refused—we think quite rightly—to detach herself from Europe. We have been detached from Europe by main force. But we cannot exist detached from both Europe and America. If we withdraw from the one, we must cleave to the other. Either way offers a basis of peace. But by refusing to choose between them, we are rejecting all chance of political control of our destiny, and ensuring that our role in world-politics is even more subsidiary than it is bound to be. To be without a policy at such a moment as this is to be proved incapable of a historical initiative—to be resigned, under the guise of action, to pure passivity.

A New Conception of Empire

WHAT is the significance of the British Empire?

Of the generally accepted beliefs none is sufficient. The British Empire is not simply a group of nations united by the magic of London's gold, neither is it merely a bloc of Powers who know on which side their bread is buttered; still less is it a commonwealth which has achieved perfection in the handling of divers creeds and races.

In actual fact it has the faults and the virtues which these loose definitions imply but (and despite the disquieting case of India) it has a moral basis of some significance and its present strength lies in past ability to adapt its form of government to the developing wishes of its peoples.

It is when empires attempt to tie their changing selves in a changing world to a particular method of government that they disintegrate. This is the fact of empire; what are the conditions now surrounding it?

ERA OF CHANGE

Because peace is indivisible and a threat to one is a threat to all, nations far from the European scene are transforming their economies and policies. The British nations of the Pacific are forced to be as independent as possible of the vulnerable sea-lanes which link their productive farm-lands to the households of the Mother country, and Canada, Australia and New Zealand look more and more to the United States for protection and patronage.

This development is answered by the desire of the Americas to secure their back door against possible attack from the East, so that these Pacific Dominions come increasingly within the American strategic zone. But (as Europe has demonstrated) such a defensive system is possible only if plans have been agreed upon in advance; if the policies of the countries concerned are co-ordinated, and if economic and political activity conforms to the military demand.

Or, as it used to be expressed in the days when expansion seemed glorious, trade follows the flag.

This section of the post-war scene, with its regions of political, economic and military co-operation, is clearly outlined. As long as wars are possible, nations will be driven to look for powerful friends near at hand so that to change the existing trend it would be necessary to remove its causes—in other words, it would be necessary to achieve world disarmament. For the present, disarmament is regarded as visionary, if not positively harmful, so that failing a radical change in the general approach to the problem it must be accepted that Britain herself will blindly co-operate in severing the bonds of trade which exist between the Mother country and the Dominions.

POST-WAR PROBLEMS

That this is the long-term tendency is further appreciated when it is understood how impossible it will be for the Dominions to de-industrialize themselves when the war is over, or for Britain to regain her lost markets and re-consign her rural population to the unhappy stagnation of the between-war years. An industrial Britain exporting manufactured goods in exchange for raw materials and food surpluses belongs to an age that the future cannot revive.

As this is the only peace policy that has been envisaged, however, an attempt will probably be made to revive it as the military activity ceases. Such an attempt can produce nothing except strained relations. And as the need will be, not to enable British industry to function at its pre-war tempo, but rather to co-ordinate itself to a world of growing industrialisms, every effort to restore the past is, in effect, an intensification of the very problem which it is desired to solve.

There is no simple solution, and the most practical alleviation is one that the Dominions themselves are not prepared to accept. If they wish to assist Britain through the transition which inability to dispose of the plenty of machine production has forced upon Europe, then the Dominions must relieve the Mother country not of surplus goods, but of surplus population. To do so would relieve the splitting intensity of the home employment problem of the post-war years, and, scarcely less important (although much less appreciated) it would be a movement toward building up the Pacific communities to sizes more relative to their natural resources.

It is an obvious absurdity that fertile New Zealand, all within a temperate zone, should have a mere million and a half inhabitants; that Australia should have anything less than double her present population; or that Canada (with a natural endowment equal to that of Northern and Central Europe (which today contains more than 100,000,000 people) should have a population not much in excess of that of Greater London. So far, no government has shown any readiness to come to grips with the immigration bogey.

by

H. P. FOWLER

In the light of these conditions therefore, what should be the aims of the component parts of the British Empire?

A CREATIVE POLICY

Briefly, the Empire must work for world disarmament above all. Not only because an armed world is the prime threat to society, but also because of the speed and violence with which it imposes its changes. Change is beneficial only when the speed of its imposition does not outstrip the development of social consciousness, and a very great increase in social understanding is necessary if the Empire is to evolve at a rate commensurate with the changes now taking place in a war-conditioned world.

Also, while working for disarmament the British Commonwealth must face the changes which the war has crystallized and accept the re-ordering of its economies which regional co-ordination makes necessary. At this point a creative policy comes into view.

The Empire can survive only if it evolves a form which, in very truth is worthy of survival: it must surpass the economic bond as it has dominated the military one. The conception of empire as militarily dominated territories, or as territory sharing a common defence system, is already moribund and the jack-boots of war are now stamping out the possibility of even an economic bond remaining.

This brings us to the crucial question. Is it possible for an Empire to have no form other than a place in men's hearts? Probably it is a good deal more than the cynics would have the world believe, and those who have lived in any of the self-governed Dominions have little doubt as to the reality of the affections which bind these communities to the Motherland.

On this level the greatest threat lurks in the period which would follow a victorious war—the period in which the Dominions would have a consciousness of having helped to "save" Britain and would therefore feel aggrieved when she demonstrated her inability to continue to provide markets for their raw materials or capital for their development. For this powerful reason the need is to think of empire on a less materialistic plane than has so far been achieved.

NEW CONCEPTION

This is the demand of the mid-twentieth century. To create a non-exclusive conception of empire transcending economic and military realities: an empire without material ties and with no organization beyond that which external conditions allow, or through which the abstract qualities of a common affection seek to express themselves.

At this stage of world development, when nations are putting trust in reeking tube and iron shard as never before, it may seem the height of impracticability to conceive of a British Empire of intangible proportions. Nevertheless such is realism. Those who can do so envisage, perhaps, not only an Empire which will survive, but the only kind of empire that can survive.

STUNG INTO ACTION!

CONTRIBUTIONS to the Fighting Fund during the past week amounted to £45 4s. 5d., bringing the total to £2,230 17s. 5d. I am grateful for what I irrationally interpret as an attempt to welcome me back to the office. Roughly it represents a pound for every sting my bees inflicted on me during my holiday. If that is the connection, I warn my readers that I am likely to be stung fifty times next week-end.

Meanwhile, please turn out more of those drawers. Keep up the Treasure Hunt. Here is a list to remind you of the main objects to look for and send to this office:

Gold Jewellery of all sorts, including rings, brooches, watch cases, chains and Alberts, tie-pins, studs, bracelets, coins, pen-nibs, spectacle frame, etc.
Silver Jewellery and tableware, including bracelets, cigarette cases and boxes, candlesticks, trophies, medals, vases, trinkets, buckles, clasps, lockets, watch cases, spoons, forks, etc.
Gilt Jewellery.
Antique Silver.
Old Sheffield Plate.
Old Dental Plates.
Precious Stones.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

THERE is a tremendous to-do about a "growing tension" between Germany and Russia. From all the mass of "news" one thing emerges fairly clearly: that the reports are of German origin. Germany, for reasons of her own, wants us to believe that she is on the point of invading Russia. And, of course, we are only too ready to believe it.

Nevertheless, it seems a fantastic idea. Why on earth should Germany take this unnecessary hazard—so completely at variance with her interests and her previous policy? Is it so easily forgotten that Hitler took the drastic step of removing the Baltic Germans from their ancestral homes in order to facilitate smooth relations with Russia? If that was bluff, it was the most drastic bluff I have ever heard of.

Co-operation?

QUITE possibly it is true that there is a great concentration of German military forces on the Russian border; and quite possibly the reason for it is that Hitler wants to bring "pressure" to bear on Russia. To what end? Two credible answers are suggested. One is that he seeks the passive co-operation of Russia in his advance toward Iraq and Iran; the other is presented at some length in a message from the Ankara correspondent of *The Times* (June 16):

Germany, having decided to settle the new European order by a peace conference, considers that the political and economic co-operation of the Soviet Union is essential, and she is therefore exerting strong pressure to obtain Russian acquiescence. Stalin, who is anxious to maintain peace, is prepared to make economic concessions. Russia, it is believed in Turkey, is being pressed to participate in a peace-conference convened by the signatories of the Tripartite Pact "to settle the territorial and political questions arising from the war, impose peace on the continent of Europe, and settle the basis of the economic co-operation of the European countries."

That seems quite plausible. Germany is now in a position to get on with the job. With Russian co-operation it is more likely to be solid.

"Resources Declining"

THE undercurrent of anxiety in the serious-minded supporters of the war-effort appears to grow in strength. Mr. Winston Churchill's noticeable impatience with criticism during the recent debate was a sign that his own confidence is more precarious than it was. "It is well to remember," says the *New Statesman* (June 14), "that even with American help Britain's resources are declining and not gaining in comparison with those of Germany," and it quotes an American official expert as saying: "Since last September, the United States has provided Britain with far less than Germany has been able to extract from France alone, not to mention Denmark, Norway, Belgium and Holland." To which imposing list the Balkans have since been added.

The truth, I fancy, is, as my poultry-farmer neighbour put it the other day, "The British cannot work as hard as the Germans: they don't see why they should." Then he added: "And I don't see why they should." The occasion of these reflections was the report that the Lancashire operatives had refused to forgo their Wakes Week. When you come down to rock-bottom the British and the American worker mistrusts the boss.

"Disappointments"

AND I doubt whether it's much use telling him that he is working for the State, even if it were wholly true: which it certainly isn't. I doubt whether the Anglo-Saxon working man would be more amenable to economic high-pressure under State Socialism than he is under the present system; and I suspect that Mr. Bevin, with his stalwart defence of the rights of organized labour, and his insistence that Labour is Hitler's arch-enemy, is trying to straddle two horses that are not going in the same direction.

The intensification of output necessary to keep pace with—let alone to overhaul—the German productive machine—is, under the British system, productive of high wages. And who can blame the British workman for wanting to enjoy his high wages when he gets them? If the effective prosecution of the war against Hitler requires that his high wages should be illusory—he will begin to go slow. I am afraid that that is in his blood. Mr. Bevin is "disappointed" in the efforts of the building trade, which is a key-industry nowadays. He will have to face more disappointments than that.

Syria

PUBLIC opinion is in a condition in which it tends to snatch at straws. The advance of British and Free French forces into Syria is much too easily regarded as a successful counter-move against Germany. But the truth is rather that Hitler has no guessing; and that our move is certainly a very hazardous one. Not only are "the Vichy French in Syria putting up a stiff resistance to our forces" (*News Chronicle*, June 16), but we are informed by the same source that "we started the enterprise as usual with inadequate forces and inadequate equipment."

The *News Chronicle* goes on to conjure the Government not to be "over-careful about

Germany & Russia :: Growing Alarm :: What of France?

saving a few Vichy lives." This phrase "a few Vichy lives" is notable. The implication that Vichy lives are somehow quite different from French lives is curious—or worse.

French Opinion

IT is extremely difficult to get any reliable news from France. A consensus of reports, carrying no very obvious authority, declares that 80 per cent. of the population is pro-British. One would like to know what "pro-British" means. Does it, can it mean any more than that the majority of the French would prefer a British-American victory to a German one? The version of the report in the *Daily Telegraph* (June 10) declares that about half the population in the occupied zone are "ready to fight the Germans again." Frankly, I do not believe it. On the 20 per cent. who are not pro-British, however the *Telegraph* makes the following interesting comment:

My informants laid some stress on the importance of the 20 per cent. because it comprised some of the best and most courageous elements of the French nation. In fact, I was told, they are real patriots who really have France at heart. They are almost all Catholic.

Youth Movement

ANOTHER version, in the *Christian News-Letter* (June 11), reports that in unoccupied France "the people are to a large extent behind Marshal Petain, but there is widespread distrust of his government," and continues: "It is members of the well-to-do middle-class who most dread a British victory as likely to lead to the return of democracy and endanger their financial interests." Yet in the *Daily Telegraph*, precisely this sentiment is imputed to the 20 per cent. of real Catholic patriots who are said to "fear that Britain after her victory will impose on France again the old Third Republic clique."

The most encouraging developments (goes on the *News-Letter*) are in the sphere of youth. The most interesting of these is the increasing influence of a Youth Leaders Training Institute, founded by a group of cavalry officers, who saw in the education of a new generation of leaders the only means of recovery from defeat and hope for the future. They succeeded in getting the support of the Government. . . . The leaders of all youth movements spend one or more periods at the institute, where they engage in manual work, mix with all classes of the population, and are given a spiritual preparation for the task of rebuilding the nation.

Trends in France

THAT sounds like a Catholic "fascist" youth movement. Quite certainly it is not pro-British. The total effect of these various reports is to make confusion worse confounded.

The one solid item of information, that there is a group of mainly Catholic patriots who are absolutely opposed to the return of the Third Republic, I knew long before; but the attitude of the peasants and petit bourgeois who were the mainstay of the Republic is as obscure as ever. But I should say that it was immensely improbable that many of these, in the occupied zone, are "ready to fight the Germans again." Even before the war, they comprised a very large number of genuine "defeatists"—men who on rational grounds had come to the conclusion that it was sheer suicide for France to fight Germany again.

My conclusion, from a fairly careful comparative study of the reports, is that they are produced by people who have singularly little knowledge of the main trends of opinion and sentiment in France. They were not easy for an Englishman to understand before the war: they are still more difficult today.

Opposition?

THE length to which the British press goes to represent the Vichy Government as acting without the support of the French people is extraordinary.

Even so responsible a paper as *The Times* (June 6) published, as an example of "French opposition to collaboration," the British United Press report that "hundreds of letters from Frenchmen and Frenchwomen are pouring into the United States Embassy at Vichy." Even if it be accepted at its face value, how much value can anyone—least of all the Vichy Government—be expected to put upon such letters as indications of responsible opposition?

How much respect would *The Times*, or anyone else, have for "hundreds of letters" from Englishmen opposing their government's continuance of the war if sent to the American Ambassador in London? They would regard half as many irresponsible scribbles on walls and pavements as surer signs of opposition.

Political Warfare

THE Ministry of Information—or rather the fatal effect of the virtual control of that Ministry by the Services—came in for scathing criticism by *The Times* (June 16). It is more than a little difficult for one who is not in the know to get at the concrete meaning of an attack written in the language of a *Times* leader. But there seem to be two main charges: that the suppression of information is carried to preposterous lengths, and that no real propaganda policy is permitted.

The strategy which fails to include political warfare and its representatives in its plans and councils is obsolete today. But that place has yet to be fully granted to them in British strategy, and as the war wears on, with its pressure upon millions

of individual lives in hostile or occupied countries, the deficiency, unless made good, will be more and more manifest and grave.

But that is, surely, an indictment not of the Ministry of Information but of the Government, for having no policy on which to base its propaganda.

Quigleys

SINCE the Germans have no monopoly of the kind of people now long known by the improper noun "quigleys," it struck me as only fair when I learned that they too had been presented (as we were presented in Norway last year) with a suitably derogatory name for agents of the other side. I am indebted to the London Correspondence of the *Manchester Guardian* (May 26) for the information that "the Germans angrily claim that the Americans are imposing their 'Quigleys' on the South American countries." It quotes the *Berliner Borsen Zeitung*, referring to the recent appointment of one Captain Quigley to command the Peruvian Navy:

This is the first case of subordination of Latin American fighting forces to a United States officer. South American States will take note of this name of Quigley. Roosevelt will probably do his utmost to insinuate other Quigleys into all spheres of Latin America. Quigleys are being used to consolidate the political, economic and military supremacy of Washington on the South American continent.

True, these two types of agents differ radically in that the one is a foreigner and the other a national imposed on a country; and yet it seems fitting that the names should be so similar.

This Healthy War

IF we are to believe the press (and who would not?) the war seems to be doing us all a great deal of good.

A typical article headed "War Has Not Hit Nation's Health," quotes a Gallup survey showing that three-quarters of the people questioned said their health was as good as, or better than, before the war.

The survey did not, of course, include those who had been killed or maimed. Such things aren't bad health, they're accidents, and I'm sure the war would be the first to apologize for any unforeseen mishaps incurred during the treatment. No cure is quite fool-proof. It isn't the doctor's fault if you take an over-dose of his medicine.

Even the objections can be largely discounted. "The highest percentage of those who thought their health was worse," says the survey, "were among elderly people and in the lower income group." So we need not really bother about them. Old people can't expect to go on improving, anyway, and the lower orders are always grumbling about something.

It is in regard to nervous complaints, however, that war seems to be particularly beneficial. Another article, headed, "Raids Are Curing Women's Nerves," reports Miss Ellen Wilkinson as saying that "one curious result of the air war has been the reduction in all kinds of nerve troubles." This is because "when women have something really to be nervous about, there isn't time to invent 'nerves' and neurosis."

THE moral of this is that the way to cure people of imaginary fears is to frighten them thoroughly. The process may be described as a kind of inverted homeopathy: to rid people of a harmless complaint you give them a dangerous one.

I have long held that the surest way to cure a bunion is to put your foot under a bus. And one cannot help thinking how many cases of shell-shock in the last war might have been avoided if the shells had been bigger and louder.

Perhaps the most consoling of the reports is that of the Birmingham Child Guidance Clinic. It says:

It might be supposed that the strain of war would cause an increase of neurosis and maladjustment among both children and adults. Such has not been the case. What has been noticed is the increase in excitability and aggressive behaviour following

The First Casualty

A FEATURE of the conference on the freedom of the press, held by the National Council for Civil Liberties and the National Union of Journalists at Central Hall, Westminster, on June 7, was the favourable reception accorded to Sybil Morrison's speech.

A previous delegate had remarked that truth was the first casualty in war, and when Sybil Morrison declared that if they wanted the truth they had got to get rid of war the conference applauded loudly. Miss Morrison went on to say: "If you want to get rid of war you have got to insist on the truth. That is the paradox. If we in this country and in the world knew the truth, this war could not go on one moment longer."

The Adelphi Centre

THE Executive Committee of The Adelphi Centre, Langham, write: "Will you please emphatically contradict a report which, we understand, is being circulated that owing to Max Plowman's death the work at the Adelphi Centre, Langham, may come to an end? On the contrary, we propose to push forward with it still more vigorously. To do otherwise would be sheer treachery to Max's memory. But if the many who received help and inspiration from his friendship, his example, and his writings will express their gratitude by sending a donation, or, still better, a regular subscription, to the Treasurer, The Adelphi Centre, Langham, Nr. Colchester, our passage through the difficult period ahead of us would be mightily eased. Here is a case in which there can be no doubt of the appropriate way of expressing the thanks of the movement to Max: Help Langham to maintain and extend its activities."

Trust

THE following notices appear side by side on the wall of a Beekenhall Church: "Put your trust in God, as I do." "Have you got your Gas Mask?"

by OWLGLASS

air raids. Also, diminished powers of memory and concentration.

This is reassuring. It means that excitability, aggressiveness, lack of concentration, and defective memory are not maladjustments. It may be asked, "Then what are they?"

I think we may conclude that these qualities are the signs of the requisite social type: the earmarks, so to speak, of the ideological norm.

A neurotic may be described as a misfit, who fails to adjust himself to the social environment. But these aggressive and excitable people with wandering minds and bad memories are not maladjusted to the social environment. They are conforming to it.

In a social and economic order so constructed as to necessitate a world war every twenty years, the type of citizens we need are those whose aggressiveness is always on tap, ready at any moment to answer duty's call. We need, also, people without power of concentration, whose attention can be easily distracted from unsuitable subjects; whose minds can be easily controlled and whose opinions changed according to the day-to-day requirements of the national interest.

Finally, we need citizens with short memories, who cannot remember what the press and radio said the day before, still less the results of the previous war.

SO now, when I meet a little boy, and pat him on the head and say "Well, little man, and how are you?" and he tells me to mind my own business and kicks me on the shin, I rejoice. I say to myself, "Here is no maladjustment. The rising generation is already fitted for the task before it and the future of civilization is in safe hands."

It is the friendly, non-aggressive people who are the misfits. It is the meek who cannot adjust themselves to our national heritage. It is the peace-makers who need liberating from their anti-social complexes.

However, before shutting them up I think we might try psycho-analysis. Their pacific tendencies were probably due to some infantile experience—perhaps some unfortunate lack of conflict between the parents.

WOMEN'S SECTION A Conference at Liverpool

THE Liverpool Women's Committee organized a conference on Peace Possibilities, which took place on Saturday at the Unity Vegetarian Cafe in Williamson Street, and was attended by some 80 people, some of them delegates from other organizations.

The introductory speakers were Sybil Morrison and Rosalind Bevan, and the Rev. Sidney Spencer was in the chair. Rosalind Bevan put two questions to the meeting: "What sort of peace do we want?" and "How likely are we to achieve the sort of peace that we want?" She stressed the need for Britain to prepare a plan and make that plan for a new world order known, it being in her view the only possible way of getting through to the German people.

Sybil Morrison suggested four possibilities of peace. Peace (that is the cessation of this war) through victory for one or other of the belligerents; internal collapse of one or other of the belligerents; negotiation; or mediation. She traced the probable results of these four possibilities and drew the conclusion that negotiation (brought about perhaps by mediation) offered the best hope for the future of the world even though it might not be possible to get the sort of peace that we, as pacifists, desire.

VALUABLE DISCUSSIONS

Discussion followed until five o'clock, was resumed with great energy and enthusiasm at 6.15, and went on until 8.15. Some extremely valuable contributions were made, including a suggestion from a delegate of Richard Acland's "party" and a delegate from the Housewives Association that the PPU should join with other organizations in working for negotiation.

The question of whether women have any particular work which they, as women, can specially undertake was also discussed, and it was generally agreed that various activities, though not peculiarly women's work could the more easily be undertaken at the moment by women than by men of military age.

In answer to one question as to whether the PPU were in touch with any pacifist organization in America, Sybil Morrison told of the contact that the Women's Section at PPU headquarters had made with an American organization called the Campaign for world Government. She will be glad to send copies of the correspondence to those interested. The co-chairman of the organization, which is working for world government without arms, are women, but it is not in itself a women's organization. One of the chairmen says in a letter received recently: "it is of immeasurable importance and value that you English women are willing to initiate a woman's action. You deserve our deepest gratitude for taking the leadership in the effort to save mankind from self-destruction. We desire to co-operate in every way possible."

Though no resolution was passed it was obvious the conference was agreed that negotiation, which does not of course mean an immediate settlement of terms, is desirable in that the interim period would give time for saner and more balanced judgments to prevail than are at present apparent in any of the statements of the belligerent governments.

All who attended were agreed that it had been a meeting of the greatest value and encouragement, and it is hoped that other areas will gather to discuss this very important subject.

May I remind girls who have to register or who are about to register that there is to be a meeting for discussion on the whole question of compulsory registration on Wednesday, (June 25) at 7 p.m. at the Holborn Hall (Junction of Theobalds-road and Grays Inn-road). The idea is to compare experiences and views. Sybil Morrison will take the chair and Daphne Kiek and Grace Turner will make short introductory speeches.

Please make a note of Sunday, July 13, when Sybil Thordike will give a poetry reading in London. Details will be given later.

SYBIL MORRISON

THE P.P.U. AND TOTAL WAR

This is the fourth article in our series of reprints of the addresses given to the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union in May to introduce a discussion on the union's policy. Others already published have been those of W. J. S. N. Grindlay, Alex Miller and Max Plowman. Middleton Murry's and Roy Walker's addresses will be published in succeeding issues of Peace News.

THE PPU is a distinctive if not distinguished entity. I tell myself. Why, then, this divergence of aim and effort?

Is it that we are confused about the fundamental nature of our movement, and are thus talking at cross-purposes and frustrating one another? Or is it that we are unanimous on the basis of our Union and yet in disagreement over the logical implications of our common Pledge; that we are in a temporary impasse from which we can emerge after long enough and reasonable enough discussion? I think that the former is the truer diagnosis of our malaise.

and so I think it necessary to preface what constructive suggestions I have to make with a restatement of some axioms which seem to me to derive directly from the wording of the Pledge itself.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE PLEDGE

1. The signing of the Peace Pledge is a personal affirmation. It is a form of public witness to a conscientious conviction regarding war.

2. Witness is individual. Individuals can, and in fact do, co-operate in concerted demonstrations of their common faith. In no other than in this limited sense can there be such a thing as "collective witness," any

GROUP NOTES

"The Faith Called Pacifism"

By JOHN BARCLAY

I SHALL always be glad that I read A Subaltern on the Somme before meeting its author, Max Plowman. It remains for me the connecting link between my own experience in France and the deeper profundities of "the faith called pacifism." It is the diary of an infantry officer during the period July 1916 to January 1917, written by one who suffered more than most from the stupid and futile business of organized mass murder which is known to history as the Battle of the Somme. It was because of reading this book, after enduring seventeen months of war myself on the western front, between April 1917 and September 1918 that I recaptured some of the initial gaiety of pre-war days.

In 1936 Max Plowman published his collection of essays and lectures under the title of *The Faith called Pacifism*. Reading them again since his death, I mourn his loss more deeply. On p. 88 he writes, "Pacifism is an adventure of the human spirit," and it is in that spirit that we continue our work. Books cannot give us back Max, but there is a very real part of his spirit in the warmth and humour that breathes through his words. The days are coming, maybe, when we shall need all the wisdom stored up between these covers.

Apart altogether from his books on war and peace, Max Plowman was an interpreter of William Blake, and his book *An Introduction to the Study of William Blake* was famous. (It is now out of print).

My advice, for what it is worth, is that you give up your visit to the cinema and knock off that extra ounce of baccy, and with the money thus saved buy some of the wisdom that was Max.

PACIFIST DIARY

June 8, Romford. Greatly daring, the local groups planned an "open-event" at Havering, on what they call their "allotment"—a piece of land overlooking the most beautiful part of Essex. The object was to help the local advisory bureau, and over 50 people turned up to the meeting and tea. George Dutch, the chairman, emphasized the need for increased support and help, and I endorsed his words. The results have, I hear, been "successful in every way." Other groups please copy.

June 9, Blackburn. This group is keen on getting things done. After a highly successful meeting in Friends' House with plenty of discussion and questions, it was decided to form a Research Committee to plan details for a more intensive campaign aimed at finding out the true level of public opinion. I believe there must be many pacifists in the districts who are not yet pulling their weight. Here is an opportunity. Get into touch with Miss G. Tyson, 5 London Road, Blackburn.

June 10, Preston. A small group, but one which has its own Dick Sheppard Room (a haven these days) from which much activity will eventually come. *Peace News* is widely distributed and a local library and bookshop should be attracting all those in the district.

*Author, Max Plowman; price 3s. 6d. A Subaltern on the Somme. Mark VII. 3s. Both obtainable from 6, Endsleigh St.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member: I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained, is: PPU HEADQUARTERS.

Dick Sheppard House,
6, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

who want to help the cause of pacifism. Do rally round, you Preston PPUites! Your local secretary is Miss V. Mason, Woodfield, 20 Kennington Road, Fulwood, Preston.

June 11, Blackpool. Blackpool is still the home of seething masses—or was last Wednesday week, anyway. A sunny day brought them all out in the same way that warmth produces *Cimex Lectularius* in overcrowded Jams. A quiet backwater at the Friends' Meeting House in the evening produced a very friendly, albeit critical, group to hear what I had to say on pacifism in war-time. Letters I have had since indicate that opinion was divided. Blackpool has not yet faced up to the war situation; there are still those, apparently, who think that politics will return as we knew them in 1920 to 1930. The group is alive, critical, and deeply sincere, but swamped by the apparent impossibility of making any impression on the jelly-like substance which goes for public opinion in this home of soporifics. The committee, who are anxious to increase their activities, ask for help. Please write to Mr. B. McGeoghegan, 50 Redcot Farm, Normoss Avenue, Newton Drive, Blackpool.

J.B.

Northampton Region will hold its first AGM on Saturday, July 19, at 3 p.m. in the Friends' Meeting House. A 6.30 p.m. John Barclay will speak, and it is hoped that regional members will turn up in great force and that others from further afield will come and "fraternize." At the monthly breakfast at 8.30 a.m. on Sunday, July 6, Vera Brittain will be the speaker.

Kettering.—Considerable interest was aroused by a public meeting addressed by Sybil Morrison. The hall was filled with an attentive audience. Sybil Morrison dealt with the conscription of women and made some inspiring remarks on the broader subjects of pacifism and the war.

Coventry has recently had visits from John Barclay and Wilfred Wellock, at two well-attended meetings. John Barclay gave a very entertaining poetry reading, which was followed by some of his suggestions for prison reform. A party of Coventry members went to the recent Northampton meeting addressed by Middleton Murry. A group of COs have just started a rescue party, manning their post four nights each week (which they hope soon to increase to seven). Encouraging results are received from regular *Peace News* street-selling. We regret to report the death of a Coventry member whose house received a direct hit.

Sheffield PPU and FOR are co-operating in a joint meeting tomorrow (Saturday) on "Armistice Now?" at 3 p.m. at Holy Trinity Hall. There will be two speakers, one for and one against, after which the subject will be open for general discussion. First session ends at 4.30 p.m. after which there will be an interval for tea, followed by the second session from 5.30 p.m. to 7 p.m. At a PPU one-day school on July 19—in the garden of 18, Oakholme-road—the speaker will be Leslie Johns of the Forward Movement. The June issue of *The Pacifist* is its last as the "organ of the Sheffield branch of the PPU"; a recent meeting of the North Midlands Regional Council decided that it should become a regional bulletin.

Maidstone has been meeting on Sunday afternoons to discuss the study booklet. It is hoped soon to start Pacifist Service Unit work, with the Friends' Meeting House as an emergency centre.

PAPERS ON P.P.U. POLICY - 4

more than there can be such a thing as a "collective conscience." It is he who holds the conviction who must make the witness: this is something no man can delegate to any Member of Parliament, National Council, or Forethought Committee.

3. The approaches to the Pledge are many and various. There exists a corresponding diversity of witness.

4. It follows that there can be no "policy" for the PPU in the sense of, say, the Labour Party's peace-time Ten-point Programme, or, thank God! the series of criss-crossing Party "lines" which is the peculiar and charming prerogative of the Comintern. All that the PPU can aspire to in this field is the kind of aggregation of individual witness suggested above; and the fact may as well be faced squarely now as later that those whose minds are conditioned to be always searching for "policies" will only concede that the PPU truly has a policy when the vast mass of the membership are approximate in their outlook and unanimous on the nature of the witness to be made. Such critics cannot be expected to find a Purpose an adequate substitute for a Policy.

5. The attainment of unanimity (for all practical purposes) is by no means an impossibility. The process of reaching some such homogeneity of outlook without similarity of approach and without the enforced conformity of totalitarian parties and States has been going on since the foundation of the movement. Unhappy as I was, on the whole about this year's AGM, it marked an advance on those that preceded it.

WHAT WE CAN DO

In the face of all this, how do I answer the question: "What can we, the rank-and-file of the PPU, do about it all now?"

I say, for a start, that we can try to keep in the midst of the clamant and rampant insanity that is war, confronting our consciences with every new and startling development, like fire-watching and industrial conscription, for example, to be assured of the continued integrity of our conviction; that we can try to help others to keep sane, and so to modify the mass-lunacy to some small but important extent; that we can try to keep informed of events and trends and help others to be similarly informed by whatever educative means are still open to us: public meetings, study circles, pacifist literature, and the rest.

These four tasks are not, it will be obvious, "pure pacifist" in quality. (I really do not know what "pure pacifism" is). They are progressive, certainly; but not distinctively pacifist.

Something more, then, is called for if our witness is to be as conspicuous as the Pledge that binds us. Here we enter the realm of controversy, and it is precisely here—through ignorance or disregard of the simple axioms I have already stated—that we tend to get blindly entangled with one another and waste valuable time and energy roundly repudiating one another.

DISTINCTIVE WITNESS

What, then, is the distinctively pacifist witness, which we of the PPU might be fairly called upon to make at the present time? In my view,

(Continued on page 4)

To Remind You

Some earlier PPU pamphlets that would interest you

INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE of PEACE. Bart. de Ligt. 3d.

GOD OR THE NATION. John Middleton Murry. 2d.

THE HUMAN FACTOR. R. H. Ward. 2d.

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Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

JOHN W. COWLING'S

—Circulation Notes—

BEYOND THAT
20,000

OUR steady progress toward that 20,000 is being maintained.

Of each of the past two issues we have printed 19,550 copies; a fortnight ago 250 of these were ordered at the cheap rate, and last week 136. Only twice—on special occasions, such as the Christmas issue—in the past year have we exceeded that printing order.

Remember that 20,000 per week is a restriction only on the number printed. It need by no means represent the limit of our influence. Already at least one daily newspaper has suggested that, where possible, two readers should share one copy. The principles of sharing and co-operation should be particularly acceptable to pacifists, and we should not hesitate to adopt them once the 20,000 level is reached.

On this basis, therefore, we can remain ambitious. How about making our goal "30,000 readers for 20,000 Peace News"? A little more than a year ago Peace News had at least 30,000 readers every week; that fact should give us some encouragement and help us to look beyond the 20,000.

Tailpiece from Northampton: "Two of us sold 55 copies last Saturday evening (May 24)—a local record. Only one man threatened to put a hose-pipe on us!"

NEWS OF C.O.s

Woman Objector.—When Miss Hilda Henshall-Brown, of Ardwick, Manchester, registered with the 20s for national service, she declined to accept the work offered her (nursing), according to the Daily Mail, June 14. She is a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses. "A Whitehall official" told the Daily Mail,

The National Service officer for her region will issue an order for her to take up suitable employment. It may be domestic or agricultural work or nursing children. The girl still has the right to appeal to a local tribunal. If she fails in this and still refuses to work as directed she will be liable to prosecution under the Emergency Powers Order.

Registration.—All men born in 1900 are required to register tomorrow (June 21).

Those born between January 1 and June 30 will be registered under the Registration for employment Order, and those born between July 1 and December 31 under the National Service Acts.

Men who have attained the age of 41 are not liable to be called up under the National Service Acts.

Men born between January 1, 1922, and June 30, 1922, will register on July 12.

Land Workers' Association.—John K. Wrigley, 24, Winifred Street, Passmonds, Rochdale, Lancs., has been appointed North of England organizing secretary of the Association of Pacifist Land Workers. The association is still open to all COs on the land. The general secretary is Douglas G. Rogers, 4, Lime Tree-avenue, Esher, Surrey.

Women Under 30

are invited to a meeting for discussion of all the problems and aspects of

INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION

to be held at
HOLBORN HALL
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ON
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25, 7 p.m.

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The P.P.U. and Total War

(Continued from page 3)

not one particularly and exclusively. It is for each and all of us to choose for ourselves just how we are to add unto the four primary tasks suggested above.

There is no scarcity of supply, nor is any rationing of opportunity to be feared. There is no close season for the pacifist witness, and there is no special devotion acceptable above another to the Gods. Age quod agis... from each according to his means... Anapole France's "Our Lady's Jugler"... the thought is consistent throughout revolutionary history. Do as well as you can what you think you can do best.

Taking the absolute objector's stand... fearlessly facing jail in order to protest and oppose... addressing public meetings in Oxford Street... hunger-striking outside Parliament... serving in Civil Defence organizations or voluntary bodies like the PSU... joining the RAMC... writing or distributing pacifist literature... going into community with a philosophy or without... The opportunities are endless, and for me there is nothing to choose between them so far as validity is concerned. For me a witness requires only one sanction: that it be the spontaneous expression of the individual's personal conviction.

That is why I resent the narrow use of the word "propaganda": its limitation to public meetings, leaflet distributions, Peace News selling, poster-parading, and all the other gay enterprises of the early days of the PPU. Propaganda is the spreading of an idea; and I know for a fact that the idea of the fundamental decency and sanity of pacifism is being spread in the East End of London through the undramatic work of a few unknown lads, and spread as effectively as our national speakers could do at their best.

WHAT OF THE PPU?

It may now be asked: If all this is so; and the responsibility for public witness (or policy, if you like), must continue to rest with the individual, what is the use of the PPU now?

The critic will usually concede that when Dick Sheppard founded the movement there was something to be said for seizing the sporting chance of creating a mass movement on the broadest possible basis in the hope that through its very clamour and strength of numbers national policy could be so influenced as to stem the tide flowing toward totals war. But that heroic and inspired effort having failed, and the movement not being at all unanimous about the worth of "Stop the War" propaganda, what is the use of the PPU now?

No-one who faces the fact of the isolation and sense of impotence and frustration of the pacifist in time of

Northampton Group.

Monthly Breakfast

Sunday, July 6th. 8.30 a.m.

VERA BRITAIN

Bed and breakfast!—Apply early to Stanley Seemark, 2, Great Russell-st.

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war could possibly ask such a question. This appalling feeling of being alone in one's alien faith, that oppressive sense of powerlessness to stay the Gadarene Gallop, is dreadful enough in time of what we are pleased to call peace: it is prostrating for many in a state of war.

Now there is not only solace but inspiration and a source of renewed courage in the sort of comradeship the PPU has to offer, if it will. Being a member of one great and free movement destroys at a stroke of a conscientious pen the feeling of isolation, and does much to subsidize the waning confidence in one's power to end it all for ever. At a time of encroaching regimentation, conscription, flats, and penalties, dogmas and intolerance, brutish majority rule, and world-wide scepticism and outrage of ideals, is there not a place in our national life for such a movement as our, with its tradition of free and volent discussion, friendly co-operation and undimmed faith? I think so, and I shall still think so if I am told that this is not enough.

Granted; it may well be that this is not enough. It may well be that the PPU cannot now alone absorb the energies of its membership, monopolize those loyalties, fulfil those longings. Well, let none of us despair of this! Yet another movement will assuredly arise to meet the unsatisfied need just as did the PPU five years ago. But there will never again arise anything quite like the PPU, any more than there will ever again be anything quite like the old ILP. Let us cherish what we now enjoy, therefore, for it may not be with us long.

ANDREW STEWART

We are glad to state that (contrary to a recent report) Donald Weight, of Glastonbury, is in good health.

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MONDAY

ACCOMMODATION

IMMEDIATELY required, board and lodging, London, preferably north-east or suburban Essex, by quiet young man. Brown, 27 Warley Avenue, Hayes, Middlesex.

WANTED two or three rooms or small house (furnished or unfurnished) in country district within fifty miles of Central London, suitable couple with child and baby. Box 754, Peace News, 3 Blackstock-road, N.4.

LAND & COMMUNITY

CO EXPERIENCED glasshouse work and gardening, offered partnership with pacifists in small market garden business; prospects of development on varied lines. Sutton Lane Nursery, Shrewsbury.

UNMARRIED CO wanted help another run smallholding farm. Hertfordshire; work hard, varied, interesting; much scope for person with initiative; experience inessential; knowledge gardening, handyman helpful. Apply handwriting, Box 782, Peace News, 3 Blackstock-road, N.4.

SITUATIONS VACANT

AT KINGS MOOR SCHOOL, Glossop. Man for agriculture, 30s. weekly, all found. Also indoor man and kitchenmaid; 30s. and £1 respectively. Send references, House Matron.

CAPABLE digger wanted for a month to dig drains etc., on farm being converted to evacuee children's hostel; travelling expenses, maintenance, and pocket money only. Massey, Beer Farm, Dulverton, Somerset.

DRIVERS wanted for potato lorries; West Midlands; good physique and driving experience essential; state age, height, previous occupation.—Box 813, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

YOUNG woman wanted to share work of medium house with another; congenial home; £1 week. Fawcett, Mark Ash, Leighton Park School, Reading.

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CO, CONDITIONALLY exempted, and wife seek work on farm or land; 3 months experience on farm; cottage accommodation if possible. Box 816, Peace News, 3 Blackstock-road, N.4.

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PACIFIST, experienced, requires teaching or social work; East End preferred. Beatrice Underwood, 67 Sheephouse Way, New Malden, Surrey.

Letters to the Editor

Lansbury, Labour, & the War

I DO not think that the failure of the Labour Party should be attributed to its opposition to appeasement. It goes farther back, to the time when it repudiated its own resolution of 1926, declaring that, in the event of war, Labour would neither make arms nor use nor carry them. This was not agreeable to the right-wing leaders who longed to take office again, so they changed it.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the foreign policy of Great Britain was altered when Churchill took the place of Chamberlain. The policy is controlled by Big Business and the Banks, not by the Cabinet. And our ruling class backed Hitler and Mussolini, in spite of their dreadful deeds in Spain and elsewhere, up to a certain point.

But when Hitler repudiated the Anti-Comintern Pact he committed the unpardonable sin. Very quickly then our rulers showed him that he could not apply "non-intervention" to Poland, and it was Chamberlain, not Churchill, who declared war on Germany. The policy of "appeasement" never meant peace.

JOSEPH SOUTHALE

13, Charlotte-road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

MAX PLOWMAN

For your appreciations of Max Plowman the man, thank you. But what about Max Plowman the writer? As one brought nearer to seeing the validity of pacifism as a doctrine, both personal and social, largely by the writings of Max Plowman, may I say a brief word on this subject?

Max Plowman was that rare thing, a writer who had not written too much. Whatever he wrote was purposeful, lucid, and his prose had all the power of simplicity. There were no meretricious tricks of style and no irrelevances. The result was that his prose had a kind of pattern, a flow. It was rather like some of the music of Bach. I was particularly struck by this in *The Faith Called Pacifism*, a book which contains writing as lovely as any I have ever read.

Those who knew Max will never forget him. For those who did not know him, but have read him, his written word is a good inheritance and sufficient memorial.

ALAN SHADWICK

Priory House, Cambridge.

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CO. 27, without friends (through war) would appreciate letters. Box 817, Peace News 3 Blackstock-road, N.4.

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